the Government will not tolerate the independence of the seceding States. But this is obviously because he does not care to raise the issue in this form. He prefers to "consider . . . the Union unbroken"; "acts of violence," he says, "within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances." The responsibility for such acts falls, he points out, exclusively upon the doers of them. In carrying out his policy, "there needs to be," he says, "no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. . . . In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen," he closes, "and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors."

The calm, serious tone of warning and remonstrance which pervades the whole address shows the characteristic political ability of its author. Few men in America, if any, have been the equals of Abraham Lincoln in political sagacity. He fully recognized the great importance of having the attitude and intentions of the new administration clearly defined in this manifesto of its policy, and at the same time so stated as to give no ground for any

charge of unfairness or of harshness in his treatment of those whose views were controverted, and whose cherished purposes were declared impossible of attainment.

The Inaugural Address was written for the people of the Northern and Border States. It was intended to prepare the former for the almost inevitable con-